1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By WILLIAM LIPKIND

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

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Preface

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In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[101] [127]

[104] [113]

1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

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In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

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1. In the following, in addition to drawings

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2. Surface Representations = Drawings (1)

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1. All of the examples of surface representations published in the following come only from the Karajá.

Representations of this kind are found in sand as well as on gourd [126] utensils; in addition the Indians gave me considerable material in my sketchbook.

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Fig. 96. Iadeñi masked dancer.

Fig. 97. Sand drawing of the Iadeñi mask.

Fig. 95. Sand drawing of the idjazó mask.

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comperison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize 71 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. 462 [231]

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241 433 462 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 462 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the categories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus 1a; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions 361 [321] are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at 361 621 [114] the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season, which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible 595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent 583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá [121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks 615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be- [119] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no [621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men- 613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family, 596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal 582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups. [601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/44 cont./

582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore [616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking [615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous) [114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent [114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters.

128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating

601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

4: Ehrenreich--1 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9
Cariban Indians SR7

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000 I. The Karaya /Caraja/ Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz) /pp. 4-97 /.

II. Concerning several Peoples on the Purus River (Amazonas) /untranslated/.

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Foreword

The ethnological material communicated in the following is the result of a journey through little-known regions of the interior of Brazil, undertaken in connection with the second Xingu expedition of Dr. Carl von der Steinen, which set out at the beginning of the year 1887 in order to subject to closer study the wild tribes still living on a pre-Columbian level of culture in the source area of this river.

CI 121 174

One of the most important results of this expedition was the final solution of the Karaib /Carib/ question. That the original home of the Karaib tribes, whose ethnographic position had been so unclear up to now, was not to be sought in northeastern South America, but in the central regions of the continent was made sufficiently certain by the discovery of two large Karaib peoples in the Xingu source region, the Bakairi /Bacairi/ and Nahuqua, the more detailed investigation of their languages, and the fortunate discovery of the traditions concerning their migrations. It was then a matter of following the traces of those ancient displacements of peoples, of finding Karaib tribes which formed the connecting link between the two widely separated groups of this large family of peoples. Certain observations permitted the assumption that the Karaya (1) of the lower Xingu and the middle Araguaia

C 104

1. The spelling Karaya, instead of Caraja or Karaža, was chosen because the sound j in the mouths of the people themselves sounds like a German j (phonetic y). The soft sibilant ž occurs in their language only in the combination dž.

Cariban Indians SR7
Cayapo SP11
Amanaye SQ2
Arara SQ4

CI 121 174 /3 cont./ were such a "missing link"; from even a short word-list this could be assumed with complete certainty in the case of a tribe on the left bank of the lower Tocantins, the Apiaka /Apiaca (Arara)/, which has only recently become well-known. When our expedition disbanded in May, 1888, after finishing its work, I decided to contribute to the solution of this question by a trip down the Araguaia and Tocantins to Pará.

C 119 101 After an overland journey of two months, I arrived in Goyaz in July, 1888, boarded ship on August 21 at Leopoldina on the Araguaia, and reached Pará on November 2 of the same year.

C 101 Of the large Indian population of the region traversed, only the Karaya could be investigated in detail. They proved to be a nation sui generis, which is related to no other, in particular not with the Karaib, still defies any classification, and is unique in language, customs, and physical form, isolated in the midst of the large well-characterized Gẽs /Ge/ nations surrounding them.

C 126 The collection of ethnological specimens acquired here by me can, despite a number of gaps, be designated as the first which gives a fairly true picture of the culture and living conditions of this important people, almost unknown up to now.

CO 126 Also the most important Gẽs tribe, that of the Kayapo /Cayapo/, is represented in it by certain objects, which as the first to reach Europe from the free, northern hordes of this great people, command special interest.

Am 101 126 The unpretentious objects of the Anambé, a pure Tupi people on the lower Tocantins, among whom the Brazilian Couto Magelhães wrote down the Tupi legends printed in the work O selvagem /The savage/, are important only because they are the the first and at the same time the last objects that have come to us from a people that is now reduced to four individuals as the result of a devastating smallpox epidemic.

Am [173] [161]

Ar 101 /4/ As neighbors of the Anambé, the Apiaka (1), of whom

1. Whether this is their national name or was given to them by the Brazilians is uncertain. In any case, they should not be confused, as often happens, with

/4 cont./

Ar 101

1. (cont.)
the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós, the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

Ar [302]

Ar 167 [101] [99]

I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only a relatively short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

C 114

From Manáos I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure or Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

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The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part
[513] of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed under-
353 neath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the
[415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna-
[239] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows
[342] are stuck in the rafters. Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at
352 hand. Some sledge-like
415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

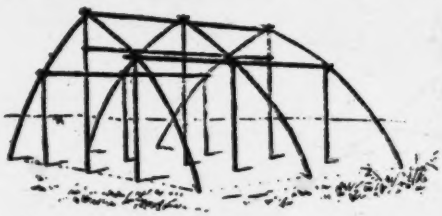

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif-
[532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas
[784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/26 cont./

collected, 24 centimeters high, without an apron, belongs here. The face is clearly modeled, the hair reproduced by a thin layer of wax with cotton fringes hanging down in front, a chain of Ricinus kernels and pierced snail-shells with black tassels decorates the neck (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 6).

Finally we have completely finished forms (obtained only from the Sambioa). Face and body are imitated completely true to nature, the arms folded over the stomach. The wax hair hangs far down in back. Line painting covers the chest and limbs. Some are supplied with ear sticks and necklaces, others with small "redes." Unfortunately the legs and the seat of almost all of them are of unnatural thickness (Pl. XI, 7). A black wax figure, the best one of the collection, nevertheless shows proportional form throughout (Pl. XI, 9). Whereas all figures of this type wear an apron, others of gray clay are without it. They also lack hair; on the other hand, they have on their backs a carrying basket likewise made of clay. The arms are drawn up against the chest (Pl. XI, 8). The male figures of this category are disproportionately long and narrow in the upper trunk, with almost spherical lower legs. Hair and genitals are of wax. There are sticks in the ears, chains of glass beads around the neck (Pl. XI, 10).

[177] The caricatures of Brazilian soldiers made out of lumps of wax, with the uniform indicated by bits of blue and red cloth pasted on, are very crude, but not without a certain humor in the execution.

Social Life, Law and Custom.

●114 The social arrangements of the Karaya can for the present be treated only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the little that I [115] observed myself or that was learned through the agency of my companion and most important informant, the old chief Pedro Manco, may at least provide points of reference for further research.

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
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186 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
● 114 "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals)
est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement
a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that
were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446),
he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own,
but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which
are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is
very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the
mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of
this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior
that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that chil-
dren be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently
occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon.
Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose
purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as
colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain.
Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and
some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young
people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with
great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation.
To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the
family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may
also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

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526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

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[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

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Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.
539 Chorus: dž̌oiri koniko -- hidž̌ohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudž̌ă beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudž̌ă).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidž̌ă uaniro bioko nero -- aidž̌odž̌ă biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidž̌ă hă hă hāṅ -- hă hāṅ -- hă hāṅ, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them; one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

● [114]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

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304 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are
757 pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness,
171 as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions
•[114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahotebädõ, according to Spinola hori), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating
791 the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity
[206] as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/34 cont./

535 121 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 ●114 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 535 532 [123] [1178] That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expectation, the most beautiful specimens were found among the

532 535 184 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/iii/ Foreword

121 [122] In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig, I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its [101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum 113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up 126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

/174/

175 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by
177 land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met
[131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna,
[648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás
[114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113]

8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[113] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/177 cont./

175 remarks prove to be correct for the most part, except for those
[114] on religion (25).

[113] 25. O Rio Araguaya. Relatorio da sua exploração pelo Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, precedido de um resumo historico sobre sua navegação pelo Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim e seguido de um estudo sobre os Indios, que habitam suos margens pelo Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, presidente de Goyaz. /The Araguaia River. An account of its exploration by Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, preceded by a historical summary on its navigation by Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim and followed by a study of the Indians who live on its banks by Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, president of Goiás. / Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

The report about the journey of Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes, which appeared in 1892 in Goyaz, was unfortunately not available to me.

175 The most detailed information was brought back by Dr. Paul
114 Ehrenreich, who in 1888, in connection with the second German Xingu-Expedition, traveled from Goyaz down the Araguaya to Pará. He navigated the upper part of the river, free of cataracts, in a steamer, so that of the Karajá, for whom he uses the name Carayahi, he was able to obtain only a fleeting impression, which, however, was fundamentally deepened through the statements, worthy of thanks, of the old Karajá chief accompanying him, Pedro Manco. He was able to study in greater detail the Sambioá, whose territory he traveled through in a rowboat. Of the Yavahe and Tapirapé he reports only hearsay. His /178/ ethnographic collection, which is often referred to in the following, is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (26).

[113] 26. He published the following works about his

/178 cont./

175
[113]

26. (cont.)
journey: 1. "Beiträge zur Geographie Zentralbrasiliens /Contributions to the Geography of Central Brazil/," in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 26, pp. 167 to 190; Vol. 27, pp. 121-152. 2. "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," in Globus, Vol. 62 (1892). 3. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnology of Brazil/. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde /Publications of the Royal Museum of Ethnology/, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2. Berlin, Spemann, 1891. 4. Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/. Brunswick, 1897.

We owe the next brief report to Dr. A. Cavalcanti, who, in connection with the explorations for the establishment of a new capital city for Brazil, navigated the Araguaya from Leopoldina to Santa Maria and visited the Carajahí on this occasion (27).

[113]

27. Commissão de Estudos da Nova Capital da União /Commission for Studies on the New Capital of the Union/. Rio, 1896. Relatorio do Dr. A. Cavalcanti /Account by Dr. A. Cavalcanti/.

During the rainy season of 1896/97, the French explorer Coudreau traveled on the Araguaya from Pará to the mouth of the Rio Tapirapé. He visited the Chambioá and Carajás; he also traveled a short stretch on the Rio Tapirapé. His statements, however, are not very accurate and tend to confuse completely the entire picture, especially on the Tapirapé (28).

[114]

[113]

28. Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris, 1897.

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

● 114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers
175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization.
175 The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical
101 works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the
114 picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá
175 and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that
[36] the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages
[131] again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

/179 cont./

101 Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in
175 Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm
[114] in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity
as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the
[361] Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words,
restores the old name, while he does not mention the name
Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally,
as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however,
Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and
Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relation-
ship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá
Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and
Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not
101 become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them
Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and,
to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the
Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that
they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and
among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by
this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

126 Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs
000 taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

127 /180 cont./ For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische
113 Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/, Brunswick, 1897.

141 Height. Ehrenreich gives (p. 108) the average body height of the men of the Carayahí as 168.2, of the women as 152.8 centimeters; thus, according to his measurements, the women are significantly (15.4 centimeters) smaller than the men. In gen- [114] eral this proportion is correct, but there are considerable individual deviations.

141 The southern horde on the whole seems to be taller than the
140 northern horde; this is probably attributable to the admixture of Savajé blood, for the Savajé are distinguished from the Karajá by their greater height. In the southern horde there were many men who were as tall as I and a few who were taller (I measured 167 centimeters barefoot), but the tallest probably did not exceed 170 centimeters. For the southern horde one may probably assume 166 centimeters to be the average. The women of the southern horde were also in part quite tall, but in general they remained behind the men in the same proportion as in the northern horde.

Among the latter there was no one who exceeded me in height, and only a few who equaled me, and such tall figures were very rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1). The great majority of the men were considerably shorter than I; they might be 160-162 centimeters tall on the average. Their height varies by half a head. The women are considerably smaller; /Pl. 36 appears here/ /181/ they remain about half a head behind the men; thus Ehrenreich's average could be assumed for them (Pl. 17).

Besides this, however, there are elements of the population which one must definitely call short. One should compare the two small youths in Illustration 1, Plate 37, who are a full head shorter than the tallest ones (these are about 165 centimeters tall), so that they approach Pygmy measurements (140-145 centimeters). The same is true for two other youths on Plate 44, Illustration 1. Most striking is the appearance of the dwarf woman on Plate 17, who reaches just to the shoulders of the man standing next to her, who is about 164 centimeters tall. I often encountered such small, but fully grown persons in the north horde (compare also the Savajé), whereas it was not

[Text continues on P. 48]

/181 cont./

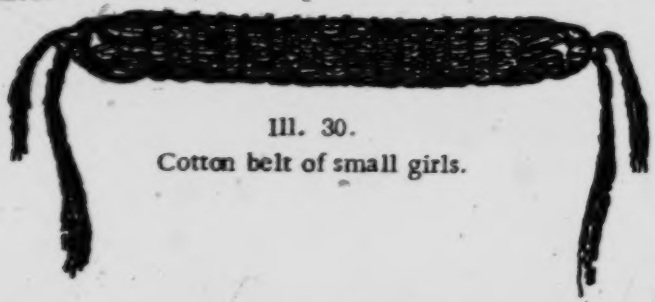
142 The shoulders among the men and women seem to me to be generally /182/ normal in their development, but there are quite a number of persons, mostly of the male sex, among whom they are markedly developed, and not only among the men (Pl. 36; Pl. 38, Ill. 1), but also among youths and boys (Pl. 44, Ill. 1; Pl. 49, Ill. 1). Probably this tremendous breadth-development of the bones of the shoulder girdle and the muscles attached to it, especially the Latissimus dorsi (Pl. 15, Ill. 4a), [114] is a result of rowing. I saw only a few actually narrow-shouldered people, in contrast to Ehrenreich, who (p. 118) describes the Karajá as of slight shoulder-breadth and gracile body build. I must, however, agree with his statement that generally the women are inferior to the men in shoulder breadth, and quite significantly.

The thorax is well-rounded among men and women. One must call the Indians broad-chested, as Ehrenreich (p. 119) does (Pl. 16; Pl. 36; Pl. 43, Ill. 3). In addition, among the men there is the tremendous development of the chest musculature, especially the Pectoralis major (Pl. 15, Ill. 3; Pl. 43, Ill. 2), which in combination with the powerful shoulder musculature, makes the upper half of the body completely outweigh the lower. This powerful development causes first of all a prominence of the breasts, which among some men take on a female shape (Pl. 36), and the formation of a trough-like depression between the points of attachment of the chest muscles to the breast bone (Pl. 14, Ill. 3). The breasts of the women apparently develop [145] slowly; thus, the maiden (Pl. 16) does not yet have fully developed breasts. In youth they show taut forms (Pl. 16; Pl. 17), whereas after births they soon become pendulous (Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 1), and in old age they hang down limply Pl. 11, Ill. 4). In shape they are hemispherical and conical, seldom plate-shaped. The nipple areola is usually prominent (Pl. 17; Pl. 42, Ill. 1).

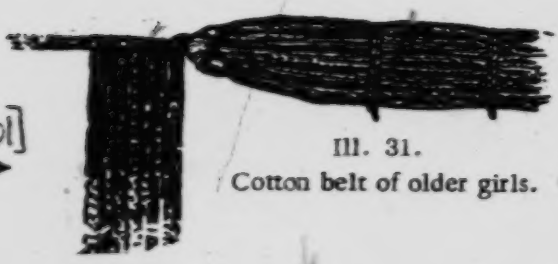
/205 cont./

It consists of a red cotton string one to two meters long and from 0.2-0.3 centimeters wide, which is either twisted out of two threads or plaited with four edges.

Whether it was connected in any way with the penis cord in former times could no longer be determined. From a second name for it, nõhõmõdi (from nõõ = penis), one might perhaps conclude this. In any case, Kõnigswald's statement (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 223) that it serves as a penis support is not conclusive.



Ill. 30.
Cotton belt of small girls.



Ill. 31.
Cotton belt of older girls.

Ill. 32.
Youth with bast band. Drawn from a photograph.

On the other hand, it sometimes serves for fastening small implements to it. Knives are commonly stuck through it at the back; one man shoved a piece of tobacco given to him, out of lack of a pocket, simply under the hip cord at the small of his back.

/208 cont./

272 The net covering [rĩ(ĩ)ỏ, rĩũ], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see [114] anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [197] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/: the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

/227 cont./

*301 a) Cotton ornaments for the neck, hips, arms, and legs. They represent a large part of the Karajá ornaments, but are worn only occasionally, probably because of their weight. With [824] reference to color, the black ornaments for children are distinguished from the red ornaments for young people.

A narrow head-band of black cotton plaiting set with small shell disks was brought back by Ehrenreich from the Karajá [114] (Berlin 3676). I doubt that this object is really a head band. For one thing, I never saw such an ornament, and then the band seems much too long for a head band. Similar bands, on the other hand, are found as belts for girls' string aprons and as bands for the cylindrical dance-masks.

*301 283 On their necks the youths wear long red tassels (nõhõzãzõ) on a braided string which is hung on the necklace by an eyelet in back. Two such tassels are always worn. The ornament (Ill. 68a) is very rare. In place of it children wear black strings, on each end of which there is a thick, short black tassel (nõhõzã). Two such strings are placed one on top of the other, so that the tassels coincide, and are then folded in half so that all four tassels hang down at the bottom. The upper loops are knotted [237] and then drawn through the necklace. In the case of the neck tassels of girls, /228/ snail shells (Castalia dolabella) are often drawn over the tassels from above (Ill. 68b; Pl. 18, right).

Around the hips the girls sometimes wear an apron [(g)ũõhĩ] that falls far down and is made of black cotton strings which are plaited into a belt at the top, and this is sometimes trimmed with mother-of-pearl disks. The apron, closed, is drawn up from below over the hips. The strings fall down to the feet; in walking the thighs are visible between them. This ornament was also very rare (Ill. 69; Pl. 18). /Ills. 68 and 69 appear here./

Arms and legs correspond with regard to the type of cotton ornaments. We distinguish between three different kinds:

The first kind consists of long black strings, each with two tassels at one end. These strings are wound around the upper arm in the following way: first one holds the tassels against the shoulder, then wraps the upper arm beginning at the top, and leads the wrapping from the elbow upwards again, until the entire string is used up. The end is knotted, and the tassels are then allowed

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kõdẽsi, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dẽsi). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ũljãũ and wõdãĩdĩ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [239] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully [415] stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] [177] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line [184] around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] [114] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, I did not see the following:

/231 cont./

*301 *237 The headdresses for the crown of the head, which consist of a rhombic plaited plate, from which rise two Cacicus feathers, each mounted on two feather-sheathed quills ("Beiträge," Ill. 8); the hindhead dance ornament lurinã̆ (ibid., Pl. II, 2; IX, 2), which I came across only among the Šavajé in an incomplete specimen; the diadems ahetŏ̆ (ibid., Pl. IX, 5) which spread out at the top when they are tied on; the ornament ŏdjĭ̆ (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) brought back by me from the village on the Tapirapé mouth is similarly constructed.

*301 114 ● The reasons for this lack among the Karajá may be of three kinds: either the Ehrenreich specimens come from the Šambioá, whose culture, after all, does deviate somewhat from that of the Karajá, or it is only a coincidence that the Karajá did not have these particular ornaments on hand during my presence, or, and this seems to me the most plausible, a different fashion prevailed in Ehrenreich's time. The circumstance that Ehrenreich brought back several specimens of the lurinã̆, whereas I did not come across any among the Karajá and only a single specimen among the Šavajé, seems /232/ to point to the fact that the ornament, formerly so common, is now no longer worn to such an extent.

*301 *237 [284] The ordinary head ornament is represented by the feather caps (dŏlidŏlĭ̆). They are worn by children of both sexes; usually one sees boys walking about all day in this ornament. They consist of a net, into the threads of which individual feathers or feather rosettes fastened to rods are knotted. The caps are drawn over the back of the head and fastened with a chin string (lĕrŭdĭ̆) [287] (Ill. 76). The nets are made of fine bast fiber or thick bast plaiting. They can be turned inside out, and the chin string serves as a drawstring to close them; they are stored in this manner (Pl. 47, Ill. 1). Stiffened nets are very rare. The nets that can be turned inside out may be grouped according to two characteristics: according to the way the feathers are fastened, [284] and according to their arrangement in zones. According to the type of fastening we distinguish between two chief types: by far the greater number of them show in each case two small feathers tied to the threads (not into the knots) by means of separate threads (Ill. 77a).

/235 cont./

*301 *237 holds it spread apart. The wheel, however, is not entirely closed at the bottom; the size of the open angle varies among the individual specimens. In addition there is still the forehead band, which is placed horizontally around the head and over which the forehead feathers are tied (Pl. 49, Ill. 1).

[114] Ehrenreich did not know how this ornament was worn. He distinguished two kinds: wheels with a one-sided covering layer of small feathers, which he regarded as mantles for feather helmets, and wheels with a two-sided covering of small feathers, which were worn crosswise over the head or as

[284]

Ill. 79.
Schematic representation of the fastening of the hindhead wheel.

Ill. 80.
Schematic representation of the construction of the hindhead wheel.

a collar around the neck or as a complement to the tuft feathers. With the second and last of these four assumptions he comes closest to actuality. The one-sided or two-sided covering layer has no further significance for the way it is worn. The Indians like to conceal the lower portions of the feathers with feather layers; since both sides are visible in the case of the above-mentioned manner of wearing it, the double-sided covering layer is easily explained, whereas the one-sided covering layer, always found on the front side, is perhaps explained by the fact that on the back side the quills are covered by the disk.

[284] The feather wheels (lāhidò) consist of long feathers which are strung fan-shaped on a cord (see Ill. 8, layer c). They are, moreover, connected together by several continuous strings which emerge at the two lateral walls of the fan and, tied together, /236/ hold the wheel open. The whole is so

/241 cont./

gathered at the beginning of October. Of other fruits Ehrenreich mentions: caju /acajou/, jabuticaba, pitangu, and Bromeliaceae, and Königswald also the mangaba. I never saw these fruits in the villages, however. As vegetable plants there are eaten: mormão (dādēdā̆lī), which is gathered the end of October; on the other hand, the mandioca do matto (āzŏ̄) is supposedly not eaten, because it is too poisonous.

The following food plants are cultivated: the poisonous (ă̆ndjĭūlā́) and the sweet (ī(ĭ)lŭ̄) manioc; four varieties of maize, mā̆ī, dōlĭmē̆ with large, round kernels, ĭzēlā̆lā̆ with round kernels, mă̆idūzŏ̄ with red kernels; batatas (kŏ̄dĕ̆rūtĭ̄), and cara (kārā̆). Of fruits, bananas are probably cultivated. The green banana is called jādâŭă̆bŏ̄, the ripe one jădàzŏ̄. I obtained bananas in Indian villages only twice, and, indeed, at the beginning of July; I never saw any in the plantings. Perhaps bananas occur only here and there, for example, according /242/ to the statements of Brazilians, among the Šavajé on Bananal Island, which is supposed to have been named ăfter them. I did not see oranges (nālă̆djắ) anywhere. Of other fruits Königswald also lists: gourds, watermelon, pineapple, and sugar cane (mā(ī)ĭtĭ̄). The gourd is not eaten, but used only for the making of vessels; the watermelon is generally gathered in the wild state, probably only rarely cultivated; only once in a village of the south horde, did I meet a family who stored seeds of these plants in small bast packets. Pineapple is surely not cultivated, and I did not see sugar cane either. If they had had any, they would probably not have begged me for sugar to the extent that they did. The statement of Ehrenreich that during the dry season sugar-cane shoots are planted on the sandbanks should be corrected to read manioc and maize stalks.

Of spice plants, peppers (kāšĭwērā́), of plants for enjoyment, tobacco (kōtĭ̄), are cultivated.

Moreover, one finds in the plantings: as industrial plants, cotton and gourds; as plants used in ornamentation, ĭšĭūlā́ shrubs (for necklaces) and the urucú shrub; and a quantity of medicinal plants.

/257 cont./

273 From maize they allegedly make a drink kănūắ, with the preparation of which, however, I am unfamiliar.

The most common festive drink, which is drunk on all visits and other /258/ occasions, is made out of manioc mush (ĭūărŭk). The way of making it is described by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," pp. 16-17). The slight fermentation is brought about by chewing the residuum of the cooled mush. The Indians, men and women, scoop out the drink in huge quantities. It is slightly intoxicating; the people quickly get puffy faces, watery eyes, and are inclined to chatter. It tastes like unseasoned diced-potato soup.

[117] Sugar-cane liquor (cachaça: ĭbūălĕ) is already penetrating here, too, through the Brazilians. There is only one village, however, Schischá, in which liquor is drunk by all, presumably because liquor is made in the vicinity and the drink is therefore very cheap. Otherwise I found very few Indians who accepted liquor (for example, Chief Ilk); women never drank any, except in Schischá. Usually it was also refused by the men and young people.

F. Food Prohibitions.

262 It has already been mentioned above that the potentialities for food are not fully utilized, that some foodstuffs are scorned.
[114] The reason for this is difficult to find. I already thought that I was on the trail of a totemistic system, but I did not succeed in proving it. Apparently, along with superstitious notions, personal taste also plays a role in this.

The following are quite generally not eaten: the meat of domestic animals, eggs, howling monkeys, capybaras, dolphins, crayfish, and mussels. The tracajá turtle and its eggs are eaten only by old people; young people scorn them, because eating them is said to have a bad effect. Allegedly chiefs are said not to eat red-deer meat. Grilled piranha is regarded as the sole food for sick persons; pregnant women, too, are forbidden many foods. Individual persons did not eat certain things: thus, Pedro

/267 cont./

411 [824] The shaft (b'dõlĕ) consists of taquara cane. This cane seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 237 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long. Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the [114] feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assumption that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

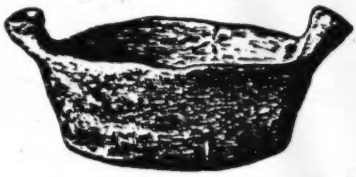
[284] Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner [314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the [284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with [283] black cotton thread (ãsõdĕbĕ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/284 cont./

415 192 439 very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds [531] Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration. [386 317] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth for this (zũzĕ, zõũbũlĕ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians [531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

192



Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 114 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and bl[illegible]ened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 412 114 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carrying string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire [372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 [824] Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole- [531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with Pyrography.

/295 cont./

286 who make better and, as far as the Tapirapé are concerned, patterned, thicker coverings (1).

1. The net coverings are mentioned for the first time in 1791 among the Šambioá.

174 /296/ Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 12) assumes that the
286 Karajá learned this technique from the Brazilians. Fonseca in
114 1773 is supposed to have taught weaving to the Šavajé on Bananal. Ehrenreich believes that he can support these statements by the fact that the Šavajé to this day make better coverings. In my opinion this is not a substantiation of this assumption, for the Tapirapé make still better coverings than the Šavajé, and the Karajá bought a great many coverings from them in former, peaceful times. Hence the Karajá could just as well have adopted this technique from the Tapirapé. Now, in the houses of the Tapirapé and at their large fishing sites I found no signs of sleeping places, so I must assume that the Tapirapé sleep in hammocks. It would be peculiar then that the Karajá bought the hammocks (for in shape the coverings are nothing else), but removed the suspension ropes and used the coverings as shawls and blankets. Furthermore, the taffeta-like woven covering which Ehrenreich describes as probably belonging to the Šavajé undoubtedly comes, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé, for the Šavajé use and make coverings which are exactly like those of the Karajá, whereas the Tapirapé produce the taffeta-like texture. Hence the Karajá, who, of course, live closer to the Tapirapé than the Šavajé and have the role of intermediaries between these two peoples, could not have taken over this texture from the Šavajé. To be sure, Fonseca reports that he built a loom for the Karajá and gave them their first instruction in weaving
286 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 387). It seems to me that this note more likely
174 refers to the making of the girls' belts and the dance belts, which actually show a sort of weaving. The technique by which the coverings are made is not weaving, but knotting, and it is a purely

/324 cont./

609 576 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

• 114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg
768 and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their
589 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who
736 are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

/329 cont./

763 Death and burial (2). The occurrence of death is recog-

[114] 2. I myself did not observe a death; my statements about this are based on the unanimous accounts of various Indians.

nized when /330/ the deceased is called to and shaken; if he gives no answer, he is regarded as surely dead.

764 The corpse is then smeared with resin (dõmãlẽ́) upon which are glued white down feathers. The face is painted with urucú (perhaps also only a section from the ear across the chin to the other ear), the lip plug is removed, arara feathers are stuck into the ears; the rest of the ornaments are also put on (for example, the bead chains are hung around women). Then the body is wrapped in a sleeping mat and tied to a pole which is taken to a stake standing upright in the sand away from the village. I could not find out whether it is tied to this or what else happens to it. Here the laments of the women and relatives take place. The young men hold the death watch here; in return they are provided with food by the brother of the deceased. If the dead person died in the evening, he is buried the next morning; if he died during the day, he is removed as quickly as possible. Burial [862] is the task of the men; the women content themselves with weeping and lamenting. All the dead are treated and buried in the same way.

The dead are buried in the cemetery. There are several large collective cemeteries (urn cemeteries); in addition there seem to be smaller village cemeteries for burials. All of them lie on high banks above the high-water mark, some of them days' journeys in distance from the village. Cemeteries to be newly laid out are marked out by the oldest Karajá. The Karajá seek by all means to be buried in their tribal cemeteries. Thus, Kabiśá from Leopoldina brought his dead grandchild to the cemetery at Schischá (three days' journey downstream from Leopoldina) because there was "unconsecrated ground" there.

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 771 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 535 796 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual [532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all 532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

●114 532 535

1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭõõnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

As a

535 result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still
796 take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty
[793] of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret
[113] from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

/335 cont./

755 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used in-
757 ternally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
758 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several
756 mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

114 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard
755 singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

752 The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery.
[278] Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭdĕwŏ) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kŭdjŭ) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dēĭ or wŏlĭsõtĭ), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kuriĭ's statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[119] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
196 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
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[113]

1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinâli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/351 cont./

175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavánte who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
• [114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Savajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Savajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Savajé.

361 [162] [131] 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the Karajá, the Savajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors [346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior ●[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by [487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to [162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season. [132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 162 101 361 166 This is the one branch of the Savajé. A second one lives near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in

[Text continues on p. 312]

/353 cont./

166 Schischá, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischá; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful
[438] relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjŭ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndŭ.
361 I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with
[114] only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/403/

IV. The Tapirapé.

195 1. Historical. Up to now the tribe of the Tapirapé has been known only from explorations. Their country was probably visited for the first time about 1746-1748 by the adventurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, who evidently repeated the expedition of Pires Campos to look for the Martyrios gold mines (Rev. trim. 37, p. 262, note 18). Their name is mentioned for the first time in 1773 by Fonseca, who heard among the Karajá that the latter were living in peace with them (Rev. trim. 8, p. 388). Souza Villa Real reports that they had eight chiefs. The statement by Silva e Souza (1812) is somewhat confusing: the Tapirapé live on the Rio Grande (upper course of the Araguaya) and are a peaceable, agricultural people who know how to spin and weave; they are said to come from the sertões of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Rev. trim. 12, p. 496). These dwelling sites would be far away from what was otherwise assumed to be their territory on the Rio Tapirapé. It is more in keeping with this general assumption when Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393) mentions that they occasionally come to Bananal Island. Castelnau mentions a village of the Tapirapé on a small river opposite the north end of Bananal Island (Vol. 2, page 114). On his map, however, in the source region of the Rio Tapirapé whose course, incidentally, is in general shown correctly, there are three villages: one of the Tapirapé, one of the Mangara Gurera, and one of the Milo. Moraes Jardim reports (O Rio Araguaya, Rio, 1880) that a river steamer traveled ten leagues up the Tapirapé to the harbor of these Indians. He says that the Tapirapé still have no contact with civilization, but are teachable and industrious. Ehrenreich reports ("Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," p. 11) that the steamer with which he traveled had already gone up the Tapirapé for 60 kilometers (perhaps this is the same steamer and the same journey). Here, he says, lives that remarkable Tupi people, the Tapirapé, who are regarded as hospitable and gentle. Unfortunately, Ehrenreich was unable to [101] visit them because the steamer went on. At any rate, these reports merely show that on the Rio Tapirapé live the people called Tapirapé, who are on peaceful terms with the Karajá. Coudreau [113] [114] now confuses the entire picture by his report (Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya, Paris, 1897). According to him)p. 110), the Tapirapé

/495 cont./

102
[114]

I should like to remark that on our maps the lower Araguaya from the north end of Bananal Island to the confluence with the Tocantins is represented very differently in its linear proportions, deviates sharply from the Ehrenreich map, which is based on the map of Moraes Jardim existing in Goyaz, and is more like Coudreau's map. Coudreau, however, traveled on the river under abnormal conditions -- extraordinarily high water. /The index, pp. 496-512, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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000 ing the seed. I gave our kind host a Testament, which was gratefully received. The second family gave us permission to levy upon their patch of melons and pumpkins further down the river. This was a valuable addition to our scant supply of food. At evening, we landed at a rude abode where we were to take on a dozen or more sacks of manioc meal for food while passing through the savage world. This dwelling was merely a roof of palm branches supported upon four posts planted in the ground with one corner fenced off as a "private apartment" for the family.

What a remarkable scene was presented as our little flotilla arrived! Everything animate came out, apparently, to greet us;—men, women and children—the color of the ground—and dogs, pigs and fowls. Our contingent of dogs, added to the resident animals, constituted a menagerie of no mean proportions. As the evening meal—dinner—was being prepared, the squeels and yelps of hungry pigs and dogs, as they fought, and were kicked for attempting to devour our food while it was cooking, caused a continual uproar.

114 We delayed here three days while our men helped to prepare the manioc or cassava meal. The manioc is a large root almost entirely starch, with a woody fibre running through it. Two kinds are commonly met with in Brazil, the domestic and the "wild," though both are cultivated. It is propagated by planting small sections of the trunk of the little tree that grows from the root. The "wild" variety grows much the largest, becoming two feet long and five or six inches thick when it can grow throughout the year uninjured by frost. This kind is deadly poison; but when the sap, or liquid, is pressed out the poison seems to go with it. The "domestic" kind contains no poison, and may be boiled and eaten like ordinary potatoes. To make the manioc meal, the black skin, or bark, is scraped off, then the root is grated, like horse-radish, into a wooden trough; next the juice is removed by subjecting the mass to a heavy pressure, and it is finally kiln dried. The contrivance used to press out the liquid is very rude. The grated manioc is put into a

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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large dugout trough near a tree, then a rough slab of wood, 114
fitting loosely into the trough, is placed upon the manioc,
and upon this again still other large blocks of wood are built
up, all of which become the fulcrum for a heavy beam, the
base of which is secured in a mortice in the before mentioned
tree; and lastly, heavy weights are piled upon the outer end
of the beam. The meal is dried by placing thin layers of it
upon an elevated surface, like a huge griddle, under which
is a light fire, then stirring it with a wooden hoe.

I saw here, near the dwelling, a valuable fruit tree with 136
hollow limbs in which five or six species of wild honey bees
had established themselves. There are a great many kinds
of wild bees in Brazil, but none of them, I understand, has [899]
a sting; and what is still more remarkable, all, or nearly all,
make acid honey—or *sour* honey, as we commonly say. It
is used as a drink, which is much prized, by mixing one
part honey to five or six parts water and sweetening it
with sugar. The expression, "sweet as honey," would be
meaningless to many Brazilians. That honey needs to be
sweetened with common sugar appears strange indeed.

At length, all the manioc meal we needed, or could carry, 114
was made and stowed into the canoes, and we resumed our
voyage. I was astonished at the great quantity of this food
stuff we were taking with us. Our canoes were loaded to
the water's edge with it, and we seemed to have sufficient
to feed half a dozen horses a month. But as we journeyed, [761]
and I saw the tremendous eating capacity of our Cherente,
Karayá and Brazilian canoe men, I was convinced that we
had none too much of the meal. These men seemed never to
reach their limit—if they had a limit—for they always con-
tinued to eat as long as there was anything to levy upon.
Their common dinner "plate"—or trough—was a large pan
with a capacity of over half a bushel. Around this they all
squatted, as it rested upon the ground, and devoured, a few
with iron spoons, and the others with nature's five-tyned
forks, gathering the food into large balls and tossing it into
their mouths. One day, a large, fish-eating bird, called a [136]
manguary,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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114 manguary, was shot, which filled our largest pot while cooking. When it was done, our men filled their bushel "plate" half full of manioc meal and poured the pot of game, with the liquid, over it. Just as they finished devouring this mountain of food, two of our party, who had gone fishing, returned with two very large fish; and "to save the fish from spoiling," they at once prepared and boiled a big pot of it, poured the mess over another half bushel of manioc meal, and soon this second heap of food disappeared also.

Fortunately for us, the annual rise of the river was late this year, therefore the *praias*—extensive sand bars—were still exposed. We needed these places to camp upon at night, as it was difficult or dangerous to sleep in the forest on the main land because of insects, reptiles and wild beasts. The [136] mosquito tribes are highly developed in the tropics, for they have the whole of every year in which to perfect themselves. Some varieties, called "powder" by the Brazilians, are mere specks and can fly through ordinary mosquito netting.

136 Many large and interesting creatures live in the Araguaya river. The *loutra* is the king of the river. It is a kind of river dog, or fresh-water seal. Its body is about five feet in length and it has four very short legs. It subsists entirely upon fish; but it lands on the beach to wander about, and bears its young in a hole which it digs in the bank of the river. When it pokes its head above water while in the river, it appears to be an enormous bull dog. I must confess that I was not a little startled when the head of one appeared above the water close to where I was about to go in bathing, as I had never seen the creature, nor knew of its existence.

Another interesting creature is the fresh-water dolphin, called a *bouto*—stub nose. It is a slate-colored carnivorous mammal which attains a length of ten feet, and a weight of six hundred or a thousand pounds. Its head resembles that of the hippopotamus; but it has no legs, and cannot leave the water. These beasts are very numerous in the Araguaya, or where fish are abundant, for I have seen as many as three pairs

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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CHAPTER VII.

LIFE IN THE SAVAGE WORLD.—JUNGLE DINNERS. —SYLVAN DORMITORIES.—MIDNIGHT ADVENTURES.

LEAVING São José, we entered an altogether savage world, encountering not a vestige of "civilization" again for six or seven hundred miles. We often journeyed part or all of the night, allowing ourselves to be borne along by the current. But I soon found traveling by night very dangerous, especially while we were in the upper part of the river, for there were many obstructions in the river; and the pilot, who was supposed to keep a sharp lookout so as to arouse the oarsmen when danger threatened, often fell asleep, with the result that both our lives and our property were imperiled. Frequently, as we floated quietly onward in the darkness and stillness of the night, we were suddenly thrown into intense excitement because threatened with destruction. But, we never suffered any harm. An unseen Power was caring for us, notwithstanding the carelessness of our canoe men.

As our beef spoiled, we had to depend upon fish and game for our meat, which we never lacked, usually having an abundance. As regards fish, it was much to our advantage that the river was still low. When it rises above its banks and submerges the contiguous country, which it does in places many miles inland, it is difficult to catch fish; one reason being that the fish now find a great abundance of food. We fished every day with hook and line as we floated along with the current, and usually caught very large fish—so

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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114 large, indeed, that one was sometimes sufficient to make two
136 meals for our entire party, notwithstanding our enormous eating capacity.

000 One day, I witnessed a new use for tobacco. A large fish having been hooked, and played until nearly exhausted, was drawn gradually alongside the canoe; then the angler, having masticated a big lump of tobacco, injected it into the mouth of the fish, causing it to stiffen instantly, with the tail slightly curved, in which condition, it was easily drawn into the canoe. If tobacco will paralyze a fish, can it fail to injure the human consumer?

114 As there were many kinds of water and tree fowls along
136 the river, we dined frequently upon game. At other times, wishing a still greater assortment of food, and to enjoy the chase, we disembarked for a few hours to hunt deer, pigs,
000 tapirs and the like. One morning, a nice pig having been taken in the thicket near the edge of the river, we landed on the first sand-bar for breakfast. Getting ashore, a few of our men set to work at once to prepare the pig, while the others watched the operation, each one evidently thinking of making a good meal, and the part he would select for his portion. The repulsive turkey-buzzards—the scavengers of South America—getting wind promptly of what was occurring, came to observe with an anxious, give-us-the-tripe look, and flopped and jumped about awkwardly, like sack racers, their constantly increasing numbers forming a black ring around us. Our colony of dogs, also, stole quietly about seeking an opportunity to levy upon something. Soon, the pig was cleaned and each of us chose his favorite part. The scene presented was amusing: One man, having roasted the liver at the camp fire, was eating it with a relish; another was stewing the heart; two others were roasting the hams with much solicitude, thinking of the feast they would have slicing and eating from them momentarily during the rest of the day and evening as they paddled, or floated onward in the canoes. The little, old Karayá captain, recently added to our crew as a pilot, had cheated the buzzards of the tripe, and

1/4 [i.e., Pig Tripe--Analyst] 1/4

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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137 for they frequently appear to reach out from the trunk seventy or eighty feet.

114 We often disembarked at some charming arboreal palace to prepare and eat our food, for, on the sand-bars, we could not always obtain fuel, and were, moreover, exposed to the blistering heat of the sun. At such times, when we were not troubled by insects, we enjoyed a delightful picnic, with which our jungle banquet was in keeping. Occasionally, we were forced to pass the night in the forest. Late one afternoon, we disembarked in the forest for dinner; but before we had finished our repast, a storm broke and darkness closed in quickly upon us—darkness, too, that could almost be felt, obliging us, finally, to grope our way among the trees as if we were blind. It was unsafe to reembark, so we hastily pitched our tents while we could still see a little. I swung my hammock in my tent, and our motley company of canoe men stretched themselves side by side on the ground, forming a human carpet, over which I was suspended, like judgment. The dripping of the rain on our canvas house, the moaning and sighing of the wind through the forest, and the incessant rumble and boom of the thunder, were the only sounds. Soon, the strata of humanity on the ground was snoring loudly, undisturbed even by the bats that bled them on the toes. Some time after high night, because of the stillness, I gradually became conscious of the fact that the storm had ceased, then that the snoring also had ceased, succeeded by a continual slapping, for the mosquitoes had come in clouds and filled our tent, now that there was no rain or wind. "Let us go outside!" exclaimed Sépé, the Cherente, to his companions, and the tent was promptly vacated by all but myself. They imagined they would be free from the little pests in the open air, for, having filled a tent or a house, they torment the occupants all night long, whereas, in the open air, they are in motion but a short time. This time, however, there were myriads of mosquitoes outside the tent as well as in; and again Sépé called out, addressing me, "Shall we not go away from here at once?" I replied in the affirmative,

136

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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for to sleep was impossible; and though the darkness was still so gross that we had to feel our way down to the river, we struck camp, tumbled everything into the canoes, then casting ourselves into the arms of the great, silent flood, were swept rapidly away. 114

We saw the tracks of the tapir everywhere, but did not have the good fortune to capture one while on the Araguaya. They always make for the water at full speed when alarmed, remaining below the surface a surprising length of time. When the jaguar springs upon the back of the tapir and tries to break its neck, he sometimes fails, for its neck is short, very thick and strong. It rushes madly toward the river at such times, dashing among the trees and through the dense underbrush, bolting under fallen trunks and bumping against some in a manner most unpleasant for its ferocious rider, so that he is usually glad to seize the first opportunity to dismount. The jaguar is known to have been killed in one of these wild stampedes, its neck being broken in collision with a tree. I have heard of such a horse and rider tearing through an encampment and among hammocks occupied by sleeping men. 136

We were often entertained at dawn by monkeys roaring their morning anthem. The great volume of sound seemed to indicate that there were a dozen of these vocalists and that they were a mile distant from us, when, in truth, there were but two and they only a quarter or half a mile distant. There are thirty or forty varieties of monkeys in the Brazilian forests, most of which will doubtless never be seen in zoological parks, for they cannot live in captivity, not even in their native land. We frequently saw colonies of one kind or another climbing about among the tree-tops, or sitting on their haunches observing us.

One day, we sighted far down the river in advance of us, what appeared to be two lines of soldiers drawn up at the water's edge. Studying the objects with a field glass, we found them to be a line of giant storks standing at the margin of the river waiting to seize their breakfast of fish.

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [206] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party; so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

262 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christmas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mortes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice watermelon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it, however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arósa*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] THE Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiôa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 186 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and determined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, nevertheless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiôa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By WILLIAM LIPKIND

The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

CARAJA AND CAYAPÓ ARTIFACTS FROM BRAZIL

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BEAUTIFULLY fashioned feather head-dresses, ingenious and terrible weapons, strange little images, implements and ornaments that characterize the lives and customs of the Caraja and Cayapó Indians, hitherto little known tribes that live in Matto Grosso and Para, the hinterland of Brazil, have been brought to the Museum by the writer, who has spent more than four years in this little-known region of South America.

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The Cayapó maidens wear narrow fillets of reed upon which are bound the short, curved feathers from the breasts of parrots, with short quills protruding in front. Some are of red and some of yellow feathers, the latter resembling fluffy halos. Occasionally the Cayapó find feathers of mixed red and yellow, not unlike striped tulips of those colors, and with these the women make fillets of exquisite beauty (fig. 95). Others are made by binding a number of short pieces of polished bamboo to a reed, topping them with iridescent feathers, and adding a long gray-white